NEW SHAKESPEAREANA.

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SHAKESPEARE'S FALSTAFF TRILOGY.

II. THE CHANGE FROM "OLDCASTLE" TO "FALSTAFF."

The Church, however, is rarely satisfied to let her vengeance on her enemies end with their lives; and after they are beyond the reach of all other assaults their character and reputation are still exposed to the shafts of reiterated calumny. So it was with Oldcastle: In ecclesiastical soon becoming popular, tradition, this gallant and high-minded scholar and soldier, probably stout in person, as he was confessedly fond of the pleasures of the table, who was banished, as related by T. Livius, from the presence of the young Sovereign for his religion's sake, which he refused to deny or conceal for any hope of favour, and whose audacious courage was proverbial, was transformed into a cowardly lying buffoon, "an aged counsellor to youthful sin," while Henry's politic abandonment of the friend of his youth was extolled as a noble act of virtue and self-renouncement. No recognizable traits were left of the real Oldcastle, except his fondness for the pleasures of the table, his corpulent figure, and his wonderful wit and vivacity, and his presence of mind under all circumstances. It seems probable there were a succession of rough plays or interludes got up under the influence, or at least with the sanction of, the clergy, where Henry the Fifth's early career of boisterous revelry was depicted, and in which Oldcastle played the part of a kind of Vice; and which ended with Henry's reform and the dismissal of his vicious companions. The only one of these dramas which has come down to us was certainly far from the first upon the English Stage; this is the Play of the Famous Victories of Henry V, which furnished the skeleton of the three plays of First and Second Henry IV and Henry V. The date of this play is uncertain but it cannot have been much later than 1580, and may have been considerably earlier, since Tarleton the celebrated comedian who acquired great renown in the part of Dericke the Carrier, died in 1588. In

the form in which the old play has come down to us, most of the fun of the play was put into the mouth of Dericke the Carrier, and comparatively little into that of Oldcastle, who is also called "Jockey." This is, of course, a contemptuous nick-name for John, as we see in Richard III, (V. iii.) "Jockey of Norfolk," but there may be perhaps some allusion to the epithet "Jack" or "Jock Pudding," often bestowed on fat men. We find an allusion to "Pudding" in connection with Falstaff, in Dame Quickly's speech, Henry V. II i. "He'll yield the Crow a Pudding," etc. This old play contains the robbery of the carriers, the scene between King Henry IV and the Prince of Wales, when the crown is taken by the latter, the scene where the Chief Justice is struck by the Prince and the Prince committed to prison, (which is only related in Shakespeare's Henry IV and not put on the stage), the insulting gift of the tennis balls by the Dauphin, the battle of Agincourt, and a comic scene between Henry V and the Princess Catherine of France. It does not contain the battle of Shrewsbury or the character of Hotspur; Oldcastle is introduced and usually called "Jockey" as above mentioned, but the part he takes in the action is very limited, while yet he is treated by the other characters as quite familiar to the audience. There seems little doubt but that, although the actor of the part of Oldcastle like Tarleton in that of Derrick, improvised largely, yet there was at least one other contemporaneous Prince Hal and Oldcastle Play, which has not come down to us. The adventures in Gloucestershire, and the personalities of Justice Shallow and Silence, and those of Oldcastle's followers are entirely absent from this play of the Famous Victories, which really is principally devoted to Henry V's reign, with his madcap adventures as Prince of Wales as a species of Prologue. If Shakespeare had based both parts of his Henry IV and his Henry V on this one old play, it would have seemed as if he had expanded the prologue to an extent more than twice exceeding his enlargement of the principal drama. Nash in his Piers Pennielesse (1592) refers to a play introducing Sir John Oldcastle, which Stevens thinks was clearly a different play from the Famous Victories, and Fuller says in his Church History "Stage Poets have been very bold with, and others very merry at, the memory of Sir John Oldcastle whom they fancy as a boon companion, a jovial royster and a coward to boot" adding "the best is Sir John Falstaffe hath of late relieved the memory of Sir John Oldcastle and been substituted buffoon in his place." Fuller's later references are undoubtedly to Shakespeare's Henry IV, but he seems to indicate preceding stage poets who had made bold with Sir John Oldcastle's character before Shakespeare made merry at it. So turning to Catholic Writers we find an interesting reference by Father Par-

sons, the well known Jesuit, in his "Three Conversations" to Oldcastle as "a Ruffian Knight as all England knoweth, commonly brought in by Commedients on their Stages" (1603). This certainly indicates that several writers of comedies had thus used Oldcastle, as well as the persistent hostility of Catholic tradition to his memory.

The time of the production of the first part of Henry IV must have been at latest in 1596 or 1597, for, in February 25th, 1598, the First Part was entered in the Stationer's Register, by Andrew Wyse as a Book intituled "the Historye of Henry IV with his battle of Shrewsbury against Henry Hotspurre of the North with the conceited mirthe of Sir John Falstoff." In this entry we notice that the play had evidently already won popularity and that the principal weight is laid on matters not included in the old play of the "Famous Victories," that the change from Oldcastle to Falstaff had already been made, and that the influence of association with Ben Jonson had not yet imbued Shakespeare with the idea of "humours" so marked in the later titles. The name Falstoff as printed more nearly resembles that of Sir John Fastolfe, some times written Falstolf, than the subsequent form. The publication of the Second Quarto followed hard upon; also in 1598 with the title "The Historie of Henry the Fourth with the battell of Shrewsburie between the King and Lord Henry Percy surnamed Henrie Hotspurre of the North with the humourous conceipts of Sir John Falstaffe" giving us Falstaff in the final form and making his conceits humourous. In these quartos we find but traces of Oldcastle, evidently accidental vestiges, as where the Prince addresses Falstaff, as "my old lad of the Castle" (I, ii.) and as Mr. Halliwell has shown in II. iii, where the substitution of Falstaff for Oldcastle has spoilt the metre. The Quarto of the second part, although not published until two years later, in 1600, has more distinct Oldcastle marks than the first. It is in Q 2, I ii, 113, that we find the speech headed "Old" instead of "Fal" and in Act III, sc. 2, we have Shallow's mention that Falstaff when a boy was page to Thomas Mowbray Duke of Norfolk, which we know was the fact as to Oldcastle, while, in the Epilogue, we have the formal apology and disclaimer as to Oldcastle; "One word more I beseech you. If you be not cloyed with fat meat our humble author will continue the story with Sir John in it and make you merry with fair Katherine of France; where for anything I know Falstaff shall die of a sweat, unless already a be killed with your hard opinions; for Oldcastle died a martyr, and this is not the man." This disclaimer and apology to Oldcastle as mentioned appeared in the First Quarto Edition of the 2nd part which was printed only in 1600 with the Title. "The second part of Henrie the fourth, continuing to his death, and coro-

nation of Henry the first with the humours of Sir John Falstaffe, and swaggering Pistoll, &c." We see again the Jonsonian dwelling upon humours and the first introduction of Ancient Pistoll. Corporal Nym, another eminent humorist does not join the choice assemblage until Henry V. The play had already been entered in the Stationers Register August 23rd, 1600, but although two years thus elapsed between the printing of the 1st and 2nd parts it is evident that the second part must have been composed and produced before the 1st part was printed, since, while the name Falstaff was substituted for Oldcastle throughout the first part except as above mentioned, Oldcastle was still by accident left in one place in the second part as the name of the speaker. It must be the case, therefore, that both parts were written and produced on the stage for a long enough period before the printing of the first part (early in 1598) to have aroused the indignation of the Portestant party and produced such a condition of feeling as to compel Shakespeare to change the name some time during 1597. The mere change however, was evidently not deemed satisfactory by those who honoured Oldcastle's memory so that the author was compelled to make the formal disclaimer and apology we find in the Epilogue; nor did the matter stop here. In 1600 appeared two editions of the play of Sir John Oldcastle purporting to be by William Shakespeare. This is a play not without ability, but which to most English and American readers shows little or no sign of Shakespeare's handiwork, although Schlegel believes it to be undoubtedly Shakespeare's. It was entered in the Stationers Register as the "First part of the life of Sir John Oldcastle Lord Cobham" with no author's name, but, of two quarto Editions which were printed in the same year 1600, one bears the name of William Shakespeare in full on the title page as author, with the addition "as it hath lately been acted by the Right Hon. the Earl of Nottingham Lord High Admiral of England his Servants." Knight considers this a strong argument against Shakespeare's authorship, contending that Shakespeare would not in 1600 have permitted a play of his to be produced at Henslowe's theatre; this seems however to me to be quite inconclusive. Even if the play of Oldcastle had been Shakespeare's composition, it would have been more agreeable, I think, for him to have had it produced on other boards, than those where his own associates were playing Henry IV and Henry V. This play of Sir John Oldcastle opens with a prologue which is not without merit, and which was evidently written as part of the same plan for the rehabilitation of Oldcastle, which we see in the Epilogue to second Henry IV. It contains these lines:

"It is no pampered glutton we present
No aged counsellor to youthful sinue,
But one, whose virtue shows above the rest,
A valiant Martyr, and a virtuous Peere
In whose true faith and loyalty exprest
Unto his sovereign and his countries weale;
We strive to pay that tribute of our love
Your favours merit. Let faire truth be grac'd
Since forged invention former time disgrac'd."

I do not think it can be doubted that the publication of this Oldcastle play with Shakespeare's name almost at the same time with the second Henry IV, containing the disclaimer in the Epilogue, constituted together an agreed arrangement, and was accepted as an amende honorable on Shakespeare's part by the Oldcastle party.

The play of Oldcastle contains one reference to Falstaff (who is not one of its characters), viz: in Act III, sc. IV, when Sir John of Wrotham speaking of King Henry V's youthful exploits, says, "He once robbed me when that villanous guts that led him to all that roguery, was in his company, that Falstaff." Sir John of Wrotham is made a sort of opposition Pendent to Falstaff, sketched from a Puritan standpoint. He is a deboshed Priest, an accomplished robber, and travels about with a concubine, whom he calls his niece, named Doll, (reminding us of Mistress Tear-Sheet). He is quite a wit, furnishing most of the fun of the play, but no coward. On the other hand, Sir John Oldcastle is made a very grave, sedate and loyal subject who expresses ultra Protestant opinions with great readiness and energy. This play of "Sir John Oldcastle" is certainly better than some of the so-called "Doubtful plays," but except in the scene where Cambridge and Scrope vainly endeavor to induce Cobham to join in their conspiracy, which has great power, rarely rises to a very high plane. The production of this play at Henslowe's theatre, contemporaneously with the second part of Henry IV, at the Globe, and the correspondence of the Epilogue of the one with the Prologue of the other, cannot have been accidental; and I do not think the conclusion can be escaped that whether Shakespeare had or not anything to do with the composition of "Sir John Oldcastle," he must have consented to the appearance of that play under his name, perhaps prefering to make the recantation himself, than have the vindication of Oldcastle and his separation from Falstaff appear as a rebuke to him from another's hand. By the

form adopted, he disclaimed ever having assailed Oldcastle saying "this is not the man" and puts the blame on earlier play-wrights.

"Let fair truth be grac'd
Since forged invention former times defac'd."

The History of the change is obscure and the tradition vague. I have given Fuller's mention in his Church History.

Dr. Richard James, writing about 1625, dedicated to Sir Henry John Bourchier an edition of Occleve's poem "The Legend and Defense of the noble knight and Martyr Sir John Oldcastle." Neither Poem nor dedication seem ever to have been printed, but copies of both are in the British Museum and in the Bodleian Library. In this dedication James wrote, "Sir Harris Bourchier, you are descended of Noble Ancestrie, and in ye dutie of a good man, loue to heare and see fair reputation preserved from slander and oblivion. Wherefore to you I dedicate this edition of Occleve, where Sir John Oldcastel apeeres to have binne a man of valour and vertue, and only lost in his own times because he would not bowe under the foule superstition of Papistrie * * * A young Gentle Lady of your acquaintance, having read ye works of Shakespeare, made me this question. How Sir John Falstaffe, or Fastolf, as he is written in ye Statute book of Maudlin Colledge in Oxford, where everye day that society were bound to make memorie of his soul, could be dead in ye time of Harrie ye fift and again alive in ye time of Harrie ye Sixt to be banished for cowardice; Whereto I made answear that it was one of those humours and mistakes for which Plato Banisht all poets out of his commonwealth. That Sir John Falstaffe was in thos times a noble valiant souldier, as apeeres by a book in ye Heralds Office dedicated unto him by a Herald who had binne with him, if I well remember, for the space of 25 yeeres in ye French wars; that he seems also to have binne a man of learning, because in a Library of Oxford, I find a book of dedicating Churches sent from him for a present unto Bishop Wainflete, and inscribed with his own hand. That in Shakespeare's first shew of Harrie the fift, the person with which he undertook to playe a buffone was not Falstaffe, but Sir John Oldcastle, and that offence beinge worthily taken by Personages descended from his title, as peradventure by many others allso whoe ought to have him in honourable memorie, the poet was putt to make an ignorant shifte of abusing Sir John Falstophe, a man not inferior of Vertue, though not so famous in pietie as the other, who gave witnesse unto the truth of our reformation with a constant and resolute Martyrdom, unto which he was

pursued by the Priests, Bishops, Moncks and Friers of those days." Apart from the discussion about Sir John Fastolfe, about which I will speak later, Dr. James here tells us that "offence was worthily taken by personages descended from Oldcastle's title" which was of course that of Cobham. The last Cobham referred to above was poor Eleanor the Duchess of Gloucester, so cruelly treated by Queen Margaret and Cardinal Beaufort. Not unnaturally, we find the house of Cobham strongly enlisted on the side of the White Rose of York in the ensuing Civil War, thus in 3 Henry VI. I. ii. we find Richard of York saying to his eldest son

> "You Edward shall unto my Lord Cobham
> With whom the Kentishmen will willingly rise,
> In them I trust for they are soldiers,
> Witty, courteous, liberal, full of spirit."

showing that the influence of the Cobhams still lasted in the turbulent County of Kent, and their sympathy was with the house of York as the more liberal party. In the days of the Tudors, the Cobhams were recognized as adhering to the Protestant side, always strong in Kent; after Mary's accession to the corwn Sir Thomas Wyatt, whose mother was a Cobham and a sister to the Lord Cobham of that day, headed the insurrection in favour of Lady Jane Grey which was very nearly successful. His uncle Lord Cobham refused—probably from motives of prudence—to join in the movement, but Cobham's sons took an active part with their cousin, and two of them seem to have been taken prisoners with him when his Rebellion collapsed. Their participation could not save Cowling Castle, Oldcastle's famed residence from the Rebels and it was stormed and sacked by the men of Kent on their march to London. Lord Cobham's prudent course, however, saved his domains and his sons' lives, which he succeeded in extorting from Mary's reluctant hands. In Elizabeth's reign the Cobhams were in high favour with their Sovereign and with Cecil. It seems probable that Cowling Castle was never restored after its sack by Wyatt's Kentishmen, but that Cobham Hall was founded in Elizabeth's time, and became the family seat. It was probably from there that the same adventurous young scions of the family started on their memorable trip to Gad's Hill, where, in 1562, disguized as highway-men, they robbed the Spanish Messenger, bringing despatches from Philip II to his ambassador, of his precious burden which was promptly transmitted to Cecil's waiting hands. The story of the robbery of King Henry IV's receivers by the Prince of Wales and his companions was a very old one,

and perhaps founded in fact, as some of Henry V's partizans undertook to justify the action, by the statement that large sums were due him by the King for the expenses of his campaigns. If this robbery took place on Gad's Hill, as according to Shakespeare's narrative, and as told in the Famous Victories, we can understand that this more recent incident would renew the popular interest in the locality. Later in Queen Bess' reign, the eldest William, known as Lord William Cobham, succeeded his father in the Barony, and both he and his brother Sir Henry continued high in favour and were often employed on important diplomatic duty, particularly in France and the Low Countries. On one important mission to Flanders in 1588, Lord William was associated with Francis Bacon's early friend, Sir Amyas Paulett. About or shortly before the time of the production of 1 Henry IV, Lord Cobham had been Lord Chamberlain, and as such was the direct patron of the Company of Players to which Shakespeare belonged. This rendered the derogatory use of the name of Oldcastle particularly unfortunate and dangerous. Probably offence was taken both by Lord William Cobham the Lord Chamberlain, and Sir Henry, who was almost continually in the Queen's diplomatic service. I cannot think that Shakespeare would wantonly and intentionally have assailed one whom he was aware bore any close relation to his patron, but rather believe that Shakespeare was perhaps ignorant of Oldcastle's having been Lord Cobham (jure uxoris). This Peerage was a fact in which the Lollards and Protestants took pride, but which the Catholics were apt to ignore. Shakespeare coming up from a different part of England, might well be less familiar with Oldcastle's fame and connection, and perhaps had not read the old Chronicles as carefully as he afterwards found the need of doing. Probably therefore he never imagined he was treading on such delicate ground as he was, in treating Oldcastle with contumely. Of course such ignorance of history would have been impossible for Bacon, whose Puritan mother must have taught him in childhood the facts as to Oldcastle's heroic life and cruel martyrdom, and who was personally acquainted with the Cobhams; but it was not so surprising a mistake for the Stratford youth, whose associations had been rather with adherents of the Old Faith, to whom Oldcastle was, in Parson's language, "a Ruffian Knight." It would seem as if Lord Cobham as Lord Chamberlain might have peremptorily stopped this attack on the memory of Oldcastle on his own authority and it is possible he did, but tradition says he made a personal appeal to the Queen for the suppression of the play. If this was the case, it may be that he had ceased to be Lord Chamberlain before the production. It will be noted that Richard James speaks only of personages descended from the title, not of personal

descent or blood relations, and it is indeed probable that Oldcastle left no issue, and possibly, until his attention was called to the matter, Lord Cobham may not have realized this his company of players, was holding up to derision an honoured holder of his title; since he bore a different name, and had held the title only through his marriage with the heiress. But when the situation became clear to him he evidently acted promptly and effectively. Probably Shakespeare was equally ready to make amends and to placate so powerful a patron by the change. Very shortly after the change had been made, viz: in 1601, John Weever, in the dedication of his Mirror of Martyrs, wrote, "This first trew Oldcastle thought himself injured because he might not be suffered to sustain the second martyrdom of the Prees." The passage is obscure, but I suppose it signifies a figurative personification of Oldcastle, complaining that, having suffered one martyrdom in the flesh, he was ready for his religion to endure a second in spirit by the printed slander of his character, and deprecated the zeal of his friends who delivered him therefrom; thus evidently referring to the successful intervention of the Cobhams, whereby the name Oldcastle was suppressed from the Quartos published in 1598 and 1601. Thomas Fuller whose reference to Oldcastle in his Church History has been already cited, took up the matter again in his "The Worthies of England," not published however until 1662, in which he wrote, "John Fastolfe, Knight * * * The Stage hath been overbold with his memory, making making him a Thrasonical Puff & emblem of mock valour. True, it is Sir John Oldcastle did first bear the brunt of the one, being made the make-sport in all plays for a coward. It is easily known out of what purse this black penny came. The Papists railing on him for a Heretick, and therefore he must also be a coward, though indeed he was a man of arms, every inch of him, and as valiant as any in his age. Now as I am glad that Sir John Oldcastle is put out, so I am sorry that Sir John Fastolfe is put in, to relieve his memory in this base service, to be the anvil for every dull wit to strike upon. Nor is our Comedian excusable, by some alteration of his name writing him Sir John Falstafe (and making him the property of pleasure for King Henry the fifth to abuse) seeing the vicinity of sounds intrench on the memory of that worthy Knight, and few do heed the inconsiderable difference in spelling of their name."

George Daniel of Berwick, writing about 1647, composed a number of very indifferent verses on the same subject and to a like effect, which have been printed by Dr. Grosart from the Manuscript in the British Museum. One will suffice as a specimen.

"The worthy Sr. whom Falstaffe's ill used name
Personates, on the stage, lest scandall might
Creep backward, and blott Martyr, were a shame,
Though Shakespeare Story and Fox legend write;"

It will be seen that Daniel like James and Fuller seeks to vindicate Fastolf as well as Oldcastle, and indeed Mr. Gairdner claims by his researches to show that Fastolfe like Oldcastle was a Wickliffite though no martyr. In 1657, John Trapp in his Commentary on Nehemiah wrote "If dirt will stick to a mudwal, yet to Marble it will not * * * N. D. Author of the three conversions hath made Sr. John Oldcastle the Martyr, a Ruffian, a Robber, and a Rebel. His authority is taken from the Stage-players of like conscience for lyes as all men know." In spite, however, of the change so publicly and conclusively made, and the recognition of Sir John Oldcastles' widely different character, the name had, in the brief period before its change to Falstaff, taken such strong hold of the public mind that we find Falstoff alluded to as "Oldcastle," from time to time in literature during half a century.

In an anonymous play called "The Meeting of Gallants at an ordinairie at the walkes in Powles" (1604) is found this speech, "Shuttlecock. Now Signiors how like you mine Host? Did I not tell you he was a madde round knave, and a merrie one too; and if you chance to talke of fatte Sir John Oldcastle, he will tell you he was his great grand father, and not much unlike him in paunch, if you marke him well by all descriptions."

Nathaniel Field, in his "Amends for Ladies" (1618) wrote,

"I doe heare
Your Lordship this faire morning is to fight
And for your honour: Did you never see
The Play where the fat Knight hight Oldcastle
Did tell you truly what this honour was."

Evidently referring to Falstaff's speech in the conclusion of Sc. 1, Act V of 1 Henry IV. Thus twenty years after the change, Field still gives Oldcastle as the speaker. Even as late as 1651 we find in Thomas Randolph's Comedy Hey for Honesty, Down with Knavery this sentence: "The sink is paved with the Rich Rubies and incomparable Carbuncles of Sir John Oldcastle's nose." Randolph's reference does not show great familiarity with Henry IV, since he confuses Sir John with Bardolph, but the passage shows the

continued use of the older name. These repeated references to Oldcastle suggest the belief that, after the first tempest of indignant remonstrance had passed, the actors may have returned to the use of the accustomed name of Oldcastle, instead of the new one of Falstaff, and that this use probably did not entirely disappear until Stage Plays were banished altogether, under the stern rule of the Long Parliament and the Protector. When plays were revived however, after the Restoration, they were played from the printed text where the name was, of course, Falstaff. The actors were naturally friendly to the Catholic and High-Church parties and hostile to the Puritans who were the religious descendants and successors of the Lollards and who had no toleration for the Drama. Mr. Yeatman, in his recent work, "The Gentle Shakespeare," tells us that, in the days of Elizabeth and James, owing to the difficulty of Catholics exercising openly any public function or even any recognized profession, many Catholic gentlemen of good family adopted the Stage as their profession; and it is, I believe, an admitted fact that nearly all the actors living at the out-break of the Civil War found their way into the Royalist Ranks. The passages above cited from John Trappe and the Jesuit Parsons respectively, well illustrate, that one point on which this continuing hostility was always ready to manifest itself, was with regard to the character of Oldcastle. When Shakespeare was compelled to change the name of his inimitable fat knight, a natural and ready means of escape from the dangerous situation, offered itself, by making use of the name of Sir John Fastolf, who had been already branded as a coward in 1 Henry VI. This being already familiar to his audiences would be more readily accepted by them than a new and strange appellation. We have seen that in the title page to the First Quarto of First Henry IV the name is printed Falstaff, and in the Folio of First Henry VI, the name Fastolfe is always printed Falstaff. Sir John Fastolfe's name is also found spelled as Falstaff in several contemporary papers and documents; so that it is doubtful whether Shakespeare made any attempt to disguise the spelling. There were also other reasons why the choice of the name of Fastolfe or Falstaff for his great comic character was tempting to Shakespeare. Fastolf had left no descendants or successors, and the earlier play assailing him, 1 Henry VI, aroused no hostile feeling on the part of any one. In fact, Fastolf's unamiable and selfish character had made him very unpopular in his lifetime and had left no kindly traditions to survive him. He was not much younger than Sir John Oldcastle, having been born at Caister, near Yarmouth, in 1578, so that he might have been at Shrewsbury, though there is no evidence that he was. He had been as well as Oldcastle, a page in Thomas Mowbray Earl of Norfolk's suite, so

that the statement to that effect in 2 Henry IV remained applicable. After Mowbray's banishment Fastolfe appears, after a short interval, to have been taken into the household of Prince Thomas of Lancaster, and subsequently into that of Prince John (afterwards Duke of Bedford), who seems to have stood by him as his patron and chief through his after life. It is therefore more than probable that he accompanied Prince John and Westmoreland in the Yorkshire Campaign, against the Archbishop of York, Mowbray, and Hastings, and the incident of the capture of Coleville of the Dale, and Falstaff's gain of reputation in that campaign, are very likely well founded in fact as to Fastolf, while they were certainly erroneous as to Oldcastle who was at that time with Prince Hal, earning renown in the Welsh Campaigns against Glendower. Fastolf was probably, like Oldcastle, a Lollard, although unlike him he never allowed his religious belief to stand in the way of his temporal prosperity and advantage. Mr. Gairdner, in his learned paper in "The Fortnightly Review" above referred to, contends that the use in his will of the quotation from 1 Corinthians XIV, 38, establishes Fastolf's Lollardism—but the argument does not seem to me conclusive. In the latter part of his prolonged life, Fastolf was suspected of complicity with Cade's Rising, and seems pretty certainly to have had Yorkist sympathies. Another suggestive fact from Shakespeare's point of view may have been the curious circumstance that Fastolf was the actual owner of an Inn called "The Boar's Head," although it was on the Surrey side of the Thames and not in East-Cheap. Whether he was a coward or not, in any proper sense of the word, and in what degree, is a question almost as difficult to settle as to define and limit the nature and extent of the cowardice with which the illustrious Sir John Falstaff has been taxed, and its consideration must be postponed to a subsequent number.

R. L. Ashhurst.

(To be continued).

AUTOGRAPHS OF SHAKESPEARE IN THE UNITED STATES.

I.

The Autograph in the Boston Public Library.

[Abridged from a Report upon this Autograph written by the late Mellen Chamberlain, Librarian of the Boston Public Library, and the illustrations are furnished to New Shakespeareana by courtesy of that Library.]

In the Fall of the year 1880 a Mr. Samuel Gaskin, a London proof reader seeking employment in the United States, offered to the Boston Public Library several seventeenth century books for purchase, among them a copy of North's Plutarch edition of 1603.

As the Library lacked these volumes they were purchased at something less than the prices usually quoted in English sale-catalogues. Mr. Gasking drew the Librarian's attention to a signature and other writing which he thought might be that of Shakespeare, in the Plutarch; but he did not seek to enhance the price on that account.

The copy was in bad condition. It was in the original binding, but the sewing had given way, the fly-leaves were gone, the text was disordered. The volume measured 12⅞ in length, 8⅝ in width, and 2½ in thickness. The title-page much reduced in size, is seen on Plates I. and II. Those familiar with books—especially folios and quartos—of the seventeenth century need not be told that the inside of their covers often shows the boards, the lining leaves, if they ever adhered to them, having become detached so as to expose usually, as shown in Plates I. and II., first, a fold of parchment about two inches wide, running the entire length of the hinge; and, second, two or more paper leaves of the same width and length, all of which would be concealed from view if the lining leaf were pasted to the board, and would be exposed if it were detached. It is also matter of common observation that the parchments and short paper leaves above described are generally covered with writing, often portions of legal documents which must have been written before the volume was bound, and which indicate by their general character that they were from scriveners' offices. In the Boston copy

of the Montaigne, one slip of parchment and one of paper at the end of the volume were in their original condition, covering the full length of the hinge; but the others were short; that which contained the name of Shakespeare at the beginning of the volume being little more than half length, as is shown in Plates I. and II. In repairing the volume all these parchments and short strips were placed outside of the new lining and fly-leaves, as is also shown. The paper bearing the name of Shakespeare is a fold organically a part of the volume, as appeared by the sewing, when it was purchased by the Library. The strips at the end of the volume contain writing which must have been there when the volume was bound. The words quod natura dedit tollere nemo potest, in Plate IV., apparently a parody on "Quod natura negat, reddere nemo potest," from Cor. Gallus Maximianus, Eleg. V. 54, are so near to the hinge which they face that it is not likely—even if it is possible—that they were written after the book was bound. The words "Cur honor quaeris," a part of two lines not easily read, seen in Plate III., may have been so written—though it is hardly probable that they would have been written in such an out-of-the-way place. These writings and the name of "Wllm Shakespeare, hundred and twenty poundes," though not in the same ink, are in the ink and handwriting of the seventeenth century, and probably—certainly, if the linings were ever pasted to the inside cover—were concealed from view until the linings became detached. From these circumstances it is probable that they are very old,—anterior in date to any of the known forgeries,—and that they were placed where they are now found at a time when there was no inducement to forge them. There is another circumstance which bears—though not conclusively—upon the age of the writing. In Plates I. and II., a worm-hole may be seen in the parchment, as well as on the title-page, corresponding to a similar one just before the word "and" in the words "hundred and twenty poundes," which penetrates three hundred and ten pages of the text. So, at whatever time the worm worked, it is clear that it was after the writing; for if it had been before, the pen would have caught on the edges of the hole and caused some irregularity of line, which is firm and sharply defined on both sides of the aperture.

The further following points may be noted:

1. The paper which bears the signature is part of the original constitution of the volume, and is of the same date as the binding.

2. The ink with which the signature was written, in the judgment of experts acquainted with modern inks manufactured to resemble those which are old, is genuine ink of the early part of the seventeenth century; and if so, then,

3. The signature itself must have been written in that century, though at what time it is impossible to say, but before the parchment, the signature, and the text had been perforated by a worm.

4. In the judgment of three experts, the writing is an autograph of some one who called himself William Shakespeare. That is to say, it is an original signature; not one man's name written by another, nor an imitation.

5. The signature itself bears a strong resemblance to the known genuine signatures of Shakespeare; and where it departs from them, the fact may perhaps be accounted for by the time when it must have been written by him, if genuine. But of course here it is to be remembered that the handwriting of the people of any age and country possesses certain characteristics in common. A good illustration of this is found in Shakespeare's will itself. The name of William Shakespeare as written in the body of the will by the scrivener is in some respects quite like Shakespeare's autograph; and so, though in less degree, is the filing endorsement of the clerk of the Prerogative Court. But no one familiar with genuine autographs would mistake either of these for such; still less would an expert be deceived by any of the imitation inks. They are aware that color, and other indicia of antiquity, may be imitated; but not in such a way as to deceive those skilful in detecting such imitations. Forgeries, to a practised eye, show the weakness of imitation, as in No. 8, Plate VIII., one of Ireland's forgeries. They are of different degrees of skill; but none of that degree which deceives a thorough expert. The copyist of an autograph, as the copyist of a painting, fails to catch the freedom of the original, and fatally errs, either by variation, or becomes stiff by servile tracing. This was established in the famous Howland will case where the lines of a genuine and the forged signature exactly coincided, which one expert on the trial calculated would not occur once in a duodecilion times! Forgers generally deviate from the original so far as not to excite suspicion of tracing, but never needlessly raise questions by a wide departure from well-known and easily accessible originals. In the Boston Library signature there is such a departure, accountable for if it is regarded as a forgery, and difficult to be accounted for if it is regarded as an original autograph. That will be considered hereafter.

The writing in the book is found where Shakespeare himself would not have placed it, nor a forger have written it. If intended as evidence of Shakespeare's ownership of the volume, a forger would have written it where such evidence is usually found, at the top of the fly-leaf, or on the title-page, where Richard Hawkins wrote his name, as seen in Plates I. and II., and he

would have avoided the unnecessary addition of the words, "hundred and twenty poundes."

The five signatures to Shakespeare's Will—if they are all his—three of them thought to have been written on the same day, and all in the last three years of his life, vary greatly from each other; and these inconsistent variations from the same pen prepare us to expect even greater variations from specimens of an earlier period, especially if any should be found to be written in a freer hand. Toulmin Smith in combatting, against Sir Frederick Madden, the genuineness of the signature in the Florio Montaigne (No. 6), says that "all Shakespeare's 'S' are begun from the right, take an easy sweep to the left, and so back to the right and to the left again, and then upwards; while this 'S' [in the Montaigne] is begun from the left, and gives us such an 'S' as never was seen." His meaning is seen in observing the formation of the "S" in Nos. 1, 2, and 5, and the difference is obvious.

One can hardly fail to notice that the writing of Shakespeare's name in the Boston Public Library signature is organically the same as that in all the known original signatures, with certain variations from them, it is true; but yet not so great as those found among themselves. The real difficulty is between the first and last syllables of his name, in which there appears to be a superfluous "s." The "speare" also varies somewhat from that of the known signatures. In the best signature,—that on the last sheet of the will which was signed first, No. 5,—the "s" is apparently connected with the "k," as though he wrote it "ks." But this difficulty is lessened, if it does not disappear, after a careful examination of the formation of the "k" in Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 5, in all of which there are certatin resemblances to that in the Library signature, and in all the "s" is detached. With the variation in these respects in the three signatures written on the same day, it would be rash to found a judgment on that ground against the genuineness of the Library signature.

Of two other signatures of which forgery is hardly predicable, though not impossible, one is on the counterpart of a deed of a house in Blackfriars, purchased by Shakespeare March 10, 1613, now in the London Library, for which it was purchased by the city authorities for £145, in 1843. The other is on a mortgage of the same property, March 11, and was purchased by the British Museum, in 1858, for £315. The pedigree of these documents cannot be traced earlier than the middle of the last century, but both are enrolled in the proper office, and without doubt both are originals.

The signature in the Florio Montaigue, Plate VII., purchased for £100 by the British Museum, in 1838, is without a pedigree before 1780, and its

genuineness rests on the judgment of experts, and on comparison with signatures known to be original. These six signatures are shown in Plates V., VI., VII.

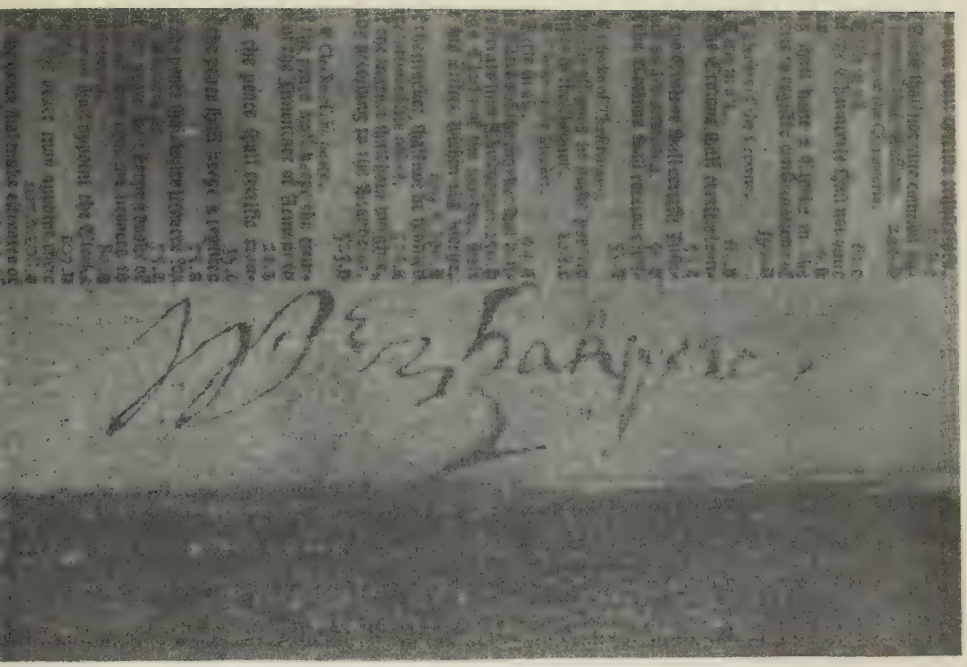
If the Boston Public Library signature is genuine, then unquestionably are the words "hundred and twenty poundes;" and in that case the Boston Public Library possesses more of Shakespeare's writing than has been found elsewhere; and if those words are in the hand of Shakespeare, then is the signature also. A comparison of this line with Shakespeare's known autograph, therefore, may throw light on the main question. Take the letter "h" in the word "hundred." At first sight it appears to be unlike the four latest of the known original signatures, but is strikingly and organically like that in No. 1, the earliest of the originals. And yet if we notice the same letter as written in No. 2, only a day later, we may see what latitude Shakespeare allowed himself in the formation of letters. Another striking instance of essential identity may be seen by comparing the "y" in the word "By," No. 5, with the same letter in "twenty," of the Library writing, No. 7. Again, compare the letter "p" in the name "Shakespeare," with the same letter in the word "poundes" of the Library writing, No. 7. Though written by the same hand, no two letters could be more unlike: but the "p" in "poundes" is almost identical with that in No. 5, the most elaborate and best of Shakespeare's signatures, and either may be substituted for the other without violence. Indeed, nothing can be more striking than the result of a comparison of the same letters in all the signatures of Shakespeare. No two are precisely alike, and in most instances they are very dissimilar; and yet, organically, they are the same in all, or nearly all. This fact suggests caution in coming to a judgment adverse to any signature on the ground that it varies from known originals. Whether it be a privilege of genius never to write one's name twice alike, even on the same day, such is certainly the fact with Shakespeare.

The literature of historical, literary, and autographical forgeries in England and America, as well as with the devices of their authors to manufacture circumstantial evidence ought to prevent hasty judgments. Nevertheless, in the absence of positive proof the testimony of experts, though not to be regarded as conclusive, must be accepted, provisionally, at least, as settling the question of probabilities. "However," Mr. Mellen concludes: "I am clearly of opinion that the Boston Public Library Autograph presents many reasons in favor of its genuineness, and too few objections to warrant an adverse judgment."

II.

The Marsden J. Perry Autographs.

Marsden J. Perry, Esq., of Providence, Rhode Island, is the owner of two alleged Shakespeare autographs. One of them is on the front cover of a little vellum-bound octavo volume with the following title: "I Quattro Libri della Filosofia Naturale di Gioan Saraua. . . . In Vinegia, Appresso Andrea Rauenoldo, MDLXV." In consequence of the book's having in 1845, become the subject of litigation, a certain portion of its history is know with a degree of postiveness not usual in such matters; for all the suspicious circumstances connected with it were then made the subject of sworn statements before a magistrate. The book was bought by a Mr. Taylor, of Somers' Place, Hyde Park Square, in 1824 at a book-stall for six pence. On the title-page was written the name of John Bowden, presumably a former owner. But the writing on the cover was not discovered until Mrs. Taylor brought it to view by the use of much needed soap and water. Soon after, according to Mr. Taylor, the book was stolen from his library with several others; and he heard nothing further of it until it was offered for sale by J. Fletcher, the auctioneer, whereupon he claimed it as his own. It was found that it had been placed in the auctioneer's hands by a Mr. Howard, who had bought it from a bookseller at Hoxton, who, in turn, declared that he had bought the volume at auction, with others, for a trifling sum. Further investigations were futile; and the two claimants agreed to divide the proceeds of the sale, which proved to be twenty-one guineas, the purchaser being W. Pickering, who soon after sold it to Benjamin Dockray, of Lancaster. The writing on the volume is described as follows in an article in "The Gentleman's Magazine" for July, 1845, p. 21: "The name of W. Shakspere is placed about the centre of the front cover of this volume. Above the name are two lines, too much effaced to be decyphered. . . . They are written in a small and clear hand, and would, apparently, be easy to read, if they were entirely visible. The word *sweet* in the first line, and the words *our eyes all* in the second are, we think, certain: others may be fancied in the following order: . . . his name sweet and divine sone That on him . . . our eyes all . . . "Above these two lines the name of Shakspere is again written, in a more compressed form than below, and apparently thus—



THE RASTELL AUTOGRAPH. [OWNED BY MARSDEN J. PERRY, ESQ.]

THE SARAVA AUTOGRAPH. [OWNED BY MARSDEN J. PERRY, ESQ.]

WIL. SHAKSPERE,

but considerably effaced. And, above that, near the top edge, in a large hand, the letters *b e r* are to be distinguished, and it is not at all difficult to imagine faint traces of the whole name of HERBERT, suggesting the possibility that the volume not only was once the property of Shakspere, but was also a present to, or from, the illustrious friend of his youth. . . . "The name or signature of Shakspere . . . is written in the style of his contemporaries, with a freedom which a modern hand could scarcely attain but after long practice." It is also, in fact, written with a greater degree of freedom than are any of the autographs which are known to be genuine. Even in a greatly enlarged photograph, no wavering of the lines can be detected. On the whole, the evidence seems to indicate that the "Sarava autograph" is not a forgery; but that, if it was not actually written by Shakespeare himself, it was, at least, written by a contemporary, or nearly contemporary hand without intent to deceive. Bohn, in his "Biography and Bibliography of Shakespeare," p. 51, remarks that Mr. Pickering was too good a judge to give for it the price that he did "unless it had some pretentions to authenticity." Dockray was convinced of its genuineness; and so, too, he says, were Sir Anthony Panizzi, Sir Henry Ellis, and Sir Frederick Madden. Dr. Richard Garnett has pointed out that an obscure book like the present would not have been likely to be selected for the purpose of fraud. Furthermore the writing considerably resembles the so-called "Montaigne autograph," which one would suppose that a forger would be less likely to choose for his model than one of those signatures which are known to be genuine. Yet, on the other hand, Ireland seems to have followed no model whatever; and he was not particular to choose well known books for the practice of his art. If only the rest of the inscription could be made out, perhaps the mystery would be solved. But unfortunately even the words which, in 1845, the writer above quoted thought certain, are so no longer. Perhaps, indeed, they were not really much clearer then than now; for, according to the report of the court proceedings in the "Morning Herald" of 27 May, 1845, "There was some writing about the signature, but it was totally illegible." Yet, according to Mr. Dockray, Sir Anthony Panizzi and Nichols, the son of the editor of the "Gentleman's Magazine" read the first word as "Herbert" independently.

The second Shakespeare autograph owned by Mr. Perry appears on the outer margin of leaf A7 recto of William Rastell's "Collection in English, of the Statutes now in force. . . . Imprinted at London by Thomas

Wight, and Bonham Norton. Anno Dom, 1598." Folio, black letter. Here again the name is clearly spelled quite as Dr. Furnivall himself would have written it, and in a hand still more like that of the "Montaigne autograph." In fact, except for the omission of the letters "illm" from the first name, it looks like a laboured copy of its more famous rival. The writing entirely lacks the freedom of the "Sarava autograph," some of the lines having been gone over twice, and none of them being firmly penned.

There is nothing suggestive of fraud in the known history of the volume. From a short monograph upon the subject, printed in 1856 by Charles William Hird, it appears that Mr. Hird bought the volume at auction, in 1852, together with 224 others, for less than forty shillings. It was not until a month afterward that he discovered the autograph. Upon enquiry he learned that the former owner of the volume had had it in his possession for seven or eight years, but had never noticed the writing. The book-stall at which he said that he had bought it seemed no longer to be in existence; and no further information could be obtained. Some previous owner, however, appeared to have seen and valued the autograph, for leaves A6 and A7 had been pinned together as if to protect it from injury. The name of one very early owner of the volume, Thomas Bragge, is written on a fly-leaf. At fo. 505 there is a mark in faded ink opposite the following sentence, which recalls a passage in the Merry Wives of Windsor (I, i, 5-8): "Item ouer & besides the said president and counsell and Justices, there shalbe Justices of Peace & *Quorum,* & also one *Custos Rotulorum* in euery of the said twelue shires." There are but very few other marks in the book—none apparently to which any Shakespearean interest can be attached.

Mr. Hird believed in the genuineness of the autograph; and he apparently never attempted to sell the volume. At his death, he bequeathed it to his grandson, Charles Johnston Hird.

Edwin Collins Frost.

III.

THE GUNTHER AUTOGRAPH

In the year 1662, the Rev. John Ward was appointed by King Charles, Vicar of Trinity Church Stratford-on-Avon, vice the Rev. Alexander Bean who had been its incumbent until the Restoration, when all Presbyterians were summarily removed from their cures. Dominie Ward came to his new charge well acquainted, it seems, with the renown of Shakespeare, whose plays had

been the favorite reading of the Martyr King, and, in his (Dominie Ward's) diary (still extant) he made such entries as:

"Remember to peruse Shakespeare's plays, and be much versed in them, that I may not be ignorant in this matter." "Whether Dr. Heylin does well, in reckoning up the dramatick poets which have been famous in England, to omit Shakespeare." There is also the entry "To see Mrs. Quiney." In pursuance of his resolution to peruse the Plays, he has always been supposed to have procured somewhere in the town an autograph of Shakespeare, and to have pasted it into the copy of the Plays he purchased. In the year 1681, he, dying, is stated (see the reference given below) to have bequeathed this copy of the Second folio with this autograph pasted therein, to his brother, the Rev. Thomas Ward, Rector of Stow-on-the-Wold, in Gloucestershire. What became of this copy of the second folio, if there was such a copy?

In the year 1886, the Rev. Frank Bristol; a Clergyman resident in Chicago, and now residing in Washington, District of Columbia—found in Nevada a copy of the second folio of Shakespeare in which was pasted on one of the front fly-leaves a slip of paper with the name "William Shakespeare" written thereon. He sold it to Charles F. Gunther, Esq., of Chicago. Mr. Gunther, who was an early member of The New York Shakespeare Society, brought the copy to New York and exhibited it to the Society which called a meeting to consider it, and a committee was appointed consisting of E. P. Vining, Esq., and Dr. Appleton Morgan, the President of the Society ex-officio, to report upon the same and particularly as to whether the autograph pasted therein was a genuine autograph of Shakespeare. Mr. Vining wrote an elaborate report and it was printed in "SHAKESPEAREANA" the predecessor of NEW SHAKESPEAREANA in its issue for April, 1887, (Vol. IV, p. 154). Mr. Vining was unable to trace the history of the Folio to the possession of the person in Nevada who sold it to Mr. Bristol, but, with that exception his report read as follows: Attached to the book is a letter dated 'Bath, Feb. 16, 1839,' signed 'Charles Godwin,' and addressed to 'Dr. Charles Severn,' in which the writer refers to 'the autographs of Ward and Shakespeare,' and, mentioning a volume which was sent with the letter, says: 'You will perhaps be of opinion that the volume once belonged to the John Ward whose books and records you have.' In 1839 there was published in London a book entitled "The Diary of Rev. John Ward, A. M., Vicar of Stratford-upon-Avon—extending from 1648 to 1679—arranged by Charles Severn, M. D." On page 33 of this work occurs the following passage: 'In a copy of the folio edition of his (Shakespeare's) works, formerly in the possession of the Rev. J. Ward, "W. Shakespeare" is written

on a slip pasted in, probably a genuine autograph obtained by Mr. Ward.' It, therefore, appeared that, if the letter addressed to 'Dr. Charles Severn,' signed 'Charles Godwin' and attached to your volume was a genuine document, you unquestionably had in your possession the identical volume referred to by Dr. Severn in his publication, and that the slip attached to your book, and bearing the name 'William Shakespeare,' was the one which Dr. Severn thought to be 'probably a genuine autograph' of Shakespeare's. Mr. Godwin's letter requests that the volume be returned to him through Messrs. Hamilton, Adams & Co., 33 Paternoster Row, London. That firm is still engaged in business at the same place, and an inquiry addressed to them as to Mr. Godwin, elicited the reply:—"He has been dead many years. Our old ledgers show him to have been a highly respectable bookseller at Bath, who bought largely from us, and for whom we acted as agent. After ten years we destroy old orders, but if you like to send us a tracing of the letter, we will put it before a gentleman who was well acquainted with Mr. Godwin's handwriting, and who describes it as a neat, small hand, generally written with a thick pen. Mr. Godwin's son became Librarian to the Marquis of Bute, and he may possibly hold that position now." A photograph of Mr. Godwin's letter was then sent to Messrs. Hamilton, Adams & Co., who forwarded it to Mr. John Stark of 12 Busby Place, Camden Road, N. W., London, who returned it with the following comment:—"In returning you the 'photo,' I've no hesitation whatever in recognizing the handwriting to be that of the late Charles Godwin of Bath, and the fact of my seeing so much of his correspondence with your firm, spreading over years, will entitle me to be an authority." Inquiries made in Bath, through the kindness of Mr. Alfred Allen, editor of "The Journal of Microscopy and Natural Science," also developed the facts that Mr. Charles Godwin had been a bookseller in Milsom street, Bath, and a man of literary repute; that on retiring from business he went to Barnstaple, a small seaport town in Devonshire, and afterwards came to live in Norfolk Crescent, Bath; and that his son was still the Librarian of the Marquis of Bute. The evidence, therefore, seems to be conclusive that the letter attached to Mr. Gunther's book was written by a reputable and well-known bookseller to Dr. Severn, and that the book accompanying it was the one referred to by the latter in his edition of the Rev. John Ward's Diary.

"It now seemed desirable to learn, if possible, whether Dr. Severn was correct in his supposition that the attestation in the volume signed 'Jno. Ward,' was in the handwriting of the Vicar of Stratford-upon-Avon of that name. By the courtesy of Mr. Richard Savage, Librarian of Shakespeare's

Birth-place at Stratford-upon-Avon, we were furnished with a careful tracing of a specimen of the Vicar's handwriting, including his signature. This demonstrated the fact that the memorandum in Mr. Gunther's book was not in his handwriting. My attention was, however, called to the fact that in the year 1748 the Stratford bust of Shakespeare was carefully repaired, and the original coloring as far as possible preserved or restored, at the expense of Mr. John Ward, who was the grandfather of Mrs. Siddons. His theatrical company performed Othello at the Old Town Hall, Stratford, in September, 1746, and the proceeds of the entertainment he gave for the above object. It seemed not impossible that he might have been the John Ward who once owned Mr. Gunther's book. Upon application to Mr. J. O. Halliwell-Phillips, it appeared that in his matchless collection he had the original correspondence between this Mr. John Ward and the authorities of Stratford-upon-Avon as to the entertainment above mentioned. We sent him a photograph of the memorandum contained in Mr. Gunther's book, and he sent us a tracing of some of the writing of this John Ward, the eighteenth-century actor, and not only Mr. Halliwell-Phillips but all who have seen and compared the two specimens are unanimous in the conclusion that the handwriting is unquestionably the same. It certainly cannot be reasonably imagined that a copy of the second folio was 'cooked,' to correspond with the one described by Dr. Severn in his preface, for fraudulent purposes. For, even if a motive could have existed anywhere for such a proceeding, the fact that Dr. Severn himself was deceived by imagining the signature of John Ward, the actor, to be that of John Ward, the vicar, would instantly have exposed the fraud. Mr. Gunther's book contains a number of annotations signed 'C. L.' in some cases, and with the name 'Charles Lomax,' in full, in others. One of these is dated 1781, showing that the book was at that time in his possession. Through the son of the late Mr. Charles Godwin, we learned that, although he was but nine years of age at the date of his father's letter, 1839, he remembered having heard the book frequently mentioned, and at that time it belonged to the Rev. Iltid Thomas of 5 Camden Place, Bath, and that Mr. Thomas and Mr. Godwin made many inquiries as to the autograph pasted in the book; and that it was finally sent to London and sold for a small sum of money. It was found that the Rev. Iltid Thomas left several children, among them a son named Charles Lomax Thomas, who was a clergyman, who held a living at or near Bradford in Yorkshire, and who died there some years ago. Another son was found who stated that 'Charles Lomax' was the name of his maternal grandfather. It would, therefore, appear that the book was in the posses-

sion of a member of the family in 1781, and was still in the possession of the family in 1839, and that the possessors then knew nothing as to how the slip bearing the name of 'William Shakespeare' became pasted in the book. These facts would seem to remove all possibility that the signature can have been one of the Ireland forgeries, as it does not seem probable that such a book would pass from Mr. Thomas' family to Mr. Ireland's possession and then back again to the family formerly owning it, while there was no recollection of such a fact by any of the members of the family and when the fact, if it had occurred at all, must have occurred but a few years before. Moreover, the signature has none of the peculiarities of the Ireland forgeries, and I believe that few would think of classing it with them.

In this statement, I have endeavored to avoid everything that could well be the subject of controversy or difference of opinion. The facts that have been proved in regard to Mr. Gunther's book, beyond all controversy, show that some time during the last century it was the property of a well-known actor, named John Ward, who was one of the first to take any interest in the personal relics of Shakespeare; that in 1781 it belonged to a certain Charles Lomax, and that in 1839 it had descended by the death of a former owner to the Rev. Iltid Thomas, of Bath, whose wife's father was named Charles Lomax. That the Rev. Mr. Thomas consulted Mr. Charles Godwin, a well-known bookseller of Bath, as to the book, and that the latter sent it for examination to Dr. Charles Severn, who was preparing the diary of the Rev. John Ward, once Vicar of Stratford-upon-Avon for publication. Dr. Severn arrived at the erroneous conclusion that the inscription in the book had been made by the Vicar, and so stated in his publication. There seems every reason to believe that the slip was pasted in the book prior to the beginning of this century, and the probability is very strong that it was John Ward, the actor, who placed it there. Two theories may be entertained as to the signature:

One, that John Ward, who evidently took a great interest not only in Shakespeare, but in his personal relics, may have obtained some letter or legal document bearing Shakespeare's signature, and cut the autograph off and pasted it in his copy of Shakespeare's works for preservation. This theory is strengthened by the fact that he is almost the first man who visited Stratford-upon-Avon with such a strong personal interest in Shakespeare's personality as to be likely to make a diligent search for such a relic, and by the further fact that from Mr. Godwin's letter it appears that a *seal* formerly accompanied the book, and was supposed to be connected with the signature. So much might be urged in favor of this view, that—however easy it may be

to doubt—it will appear upon investigation that there are as many difficulties in doubting as in believing it. The other theory is that John Ward, having failed to find a genuine signature of the poet, took some opportunity to copy the last signature of the poet's will, and pasted this in his book as some little memento, even if a poor one, of the great dramatist. This would, of course, be done only for his own satisfaction, and without any thought of deceiving any one else in regard to it. Nothing but a careful comparison, by experts, of the signature in your book with that appended to Shakespeare's will, can definitely settle the question as to which of these two theories is true. I cannot pretend to be an expert in a comparison of signatures, and do not wish to express any opinion on the subject, as most of those who may examine the book will probably be at least as competent as myself to come to a correct conclusion on the subject.

Leaving this question in abeyance for the present, I believe that it is fully proved: I. That the copy of the Second Folio now in Mr. Gunther's possession, is the one referred to by Dr. Severn in his Preface to his Edition of Ward's Diary, published in London in 1839; II. That there is no presumption—and no claim possible—that a fraud or forgery has ever been attempted on the part of anybody in conection with Mr. Gunther's copy of the Second Folio; III. That the slip pasted on the fly-leaf of Mr. Gunther's copy of the Second Folio was so pasted there prior to the beginning of the present century.

In this Report, which Mr. Vining signed and transmitted to Mr. Gunther Dr. Morgan concurred. But in view of the precise statement in Mr. Elton's recent posthumos work (William Shakespeare His Family and Friends, New York, E. P. Dutton & Co., 1904, page 313) that a copy of the Second Folio, with a signature of Shakespeare pasted therein, belonging to the Vicar John Ward was actually among his personal effects when he died, and was bequeathed to his brother the Rev. Thomas Ward, Dr. Morgan wrote to Mr. Vining asking if he (Mr. Vining) desired to qualify in 1905 the Report he had written in 1887. To this letter Mr. Vining replies, that he cannot in any way qualify even in view of the new evidence a word of his Report. The situation is, therefore that, whether or not this is the copy of the Second Folio which Dr. Severn referred to in his diary or not, and whether the John Ward who was Vicar of Stratford-on-Avon had also a copy of the Second Folio or not in which he pasted an autograph of Shakespeare, the copy of the Second Folio now owned by Mr. Gunther is one heretofore owned by the Actor John Ward. As confirmatory of Mr. Vining's results it may be stated that this Actor John Ward was the person who taking up his residence in

Stratford-upon-Avon in the year 1745 because he venerated the memory of Shakespeare began to do all in his power to preserve and perpetuate all Shakespearean vestiges. Besides raising the fund to restore the bust in the Stratford Church which had been neglected for an hundred years, as noted in Mr. Vining's report, he was really the originator of the famous Stratford Jubilee, having first suggested to Garrick the commemoration, and that his entire career suggested that he would be the one to preserve—if anybody did—a signature of the great Dramatist.

In the absence of further light therefore, the conclusion is irresistable that the Gunther Folio and Autograph go back to John Ward the Actor, and not to John Ward the Vicar, and that Dr. Severn was misled by the similarity of the two names.

[On November 14th, 1904, there was sold at Sotheby's, London, a Prayer Book containing two alleged signatures of Shakespeare for the sum of two hundred and thirty-five pounds. It was reported that the purchaser was an American—but as our latest advices are that such is not the fact—a description of these signatures is not included here. It is expected, however, that in our next issue we shall be able to present our readers with a description, and possibly with fac similies of these.— EDITORS NEW SHAKESPEAREANA.]

DEPARTMENT OF TEXTUAL CRITICISM

Conducted by EDWARD MERTON DEY, ESQ.

[Contributions to this Department need not be typewritten. Correspondence should be addressed to Mr. Dey, P. O. Box 1063, St. Louis, Mo.]

KING LEAR II. ii. 20 (Vol. III., pp. 99-135)—

"One-trunk-inheriting slave."

I am slowly but surely being driven to the conclusion that Shakespeare was an American. (Dr. Furness thinks he must have lived in Boston for a while—see introduction to his edition of Much Ado About Nothing). In NEW SHAKESPEAREANA for October R. W. P. says that an Englishman never speaks of inheriting anything but land. Of course not; but Shakespeare did. He used the word "inherit" not once but constantly in the sense of "possess." The instance cited by Mr. Ashhurst from King Lear should be sufficient, "But to the girdle do the gods inherit;" a glance at Bartlett's Concordance will reveal a score.

On second thoughts, I am not so sure that this use of the word "inherit" is confined to Shakespeare among Englishmen. I have an impression that Shelley has a line about "The inheritors of unfulfilled renown," and whoever translated the Gospel according to St. Mark certainly wrote, "Good Master, what shall I do that I may inherit eternal life?" I am sure about one thing however and that is that R. W. P.'s premises do not lead very logically to his conclusion. How could the slave's "carcass" be regarded as land until the slave was dead and buried? Besides, why should he be reviled for inheriting only one carcass? How many would a nobleman be entitled to?

Mr. Ashhurst's explanation of the phrase seems to be quite sufficient and a trunk—in the ordinary every day sense of the word—can be inherited, although in the strict legal usage of the word "inherit" its application is limited to land and heir-looms. If Mr. Rust and R. W. P. were to go through the text in this fashion there would not be much left that we could recognize when they had finished.

ISAAC HULL PLATT.

"As You Like It," II. vii. 53-7.—

> Hee, that a Foole doth very wisely hit
> Doth very foolishly, although he smart
> Seeme senseless of the bob. If not,
> The Wise-mans folly is anathomiz'd
> Euen by the squandering glances of the foole.
>
> —Folio.

The almost bewildering array of explanations of the foregoing passage make it hazardous to hope that any suggestion would have weight with the editorial mind. Recent editions repeat the old conjectures and furnish nothing in addition to the former view of existing criticism. A restatement of what I believe to be a clear way out of the apparent difficulty may not be untimely.

In the following it may be shown that there is really no radical difference of opinion among the principal critics. The reconciler of opinions assumes a rather lofty position, and he can afford to smile with those who recognize this fact, if they will but permit themselves to act in turn as judges on the merit of his suggestion. Were it not that leading editors differ as to the text, Wright preferring Theobald's "Not to" before "seem," Rolfe the Coll. (MS.) "But to," meaning practically the same, and Furness the original reading of the Folio, it would be unnecessary to read any later comment than Johnson's. He explained the passage:

"Unless men have the prudence not to appear touched with the sarcasm of a jester, they subject themselves to his power; and the wise man will have his folly 'anatomized,' that is, *dissected* and *laid open,* by the 'squandering glances' or random *shots* of a fool." With the meaning practically settled, it is interesting to see how the battle has raged around the interpolation "Not to," Theobald supporting his conjecture with the claim that "the third verse is defective one whole *foot* in measure." That the Folio line, with the natural pause after "bob," reads smoothly, is sufficient answer to this claim. It is certainly not true, as further asserted by Theobald, that "the tenor of what Jaques continues to say, and the reasoning of the passage, show it no less defective in the sense."

Either reading enables us to arrive at the indisputable meaning of these lines. Jaques, in the Folio, states what a man does under certain circumstances in order not to have his folly anatomized—"doth very foolishly— . . . seem senseless of the bob," "doth . . . seem" being the verb.

Theobald makes Jaques say that man under such circumstances, if he would avoid having his folly anatomized, "doth (acts) very foolishly . . . *not* to seem senseless of the bob," "doth" being the verb. The one is an affirmative, the other a negative, statement of the same thought. The one says the object of the jest follows a certain course, which is shown to be wise; the other, that in *not* following such course he acts unwisely. In the two statements, however, there is a slight difference in the meaning of "foolishly." In the former we may read "doth (all) very foolishly (as a part of the general foolery) seem senseless of the bob," his acting a part being held complimentary to his wisdom. He notices the jest and laughs at it, but seems senseless of it, that is, unhurt by it. In the latter statement "foolishly" is a positive criticism. The following "if not" would seem to require a preceding affirmative statement, as given in the folio text.

The contrast between "wisely" and "foolishly" is very much in Shakespeare's manner. Each one represents a positive quality of the particular character concerned. Since the attribute of wisdom is predicted of the fool, the opposite attribute of foolishness (foolery) is attributed to the wise man. The intent of the jester becomes serious and must be met by the pretended inability on the part of his victim to take offense at the gibe intended. This contrast is lost if we are to imagine petulence as the effect of the gibe. The Folio text shows what was doubtless the custom of the well-bred courtier who would not lower himself by resentment, incurring consequent ridicule. Jaques is describing the usual order of things—how the jests of a fool are taken. The fool does so and so, then he that is aimed at does so and so; afterwards comes the reverse statement—"if not" (if this is not the correct order of procedure on the part of the victim) the result is the anatomizing of the wise man's folly.

My contention is, that the words of the text give an excellent meaning, "foolishly" (foolery) on the part of the victim as opposed to "wisely" (wisdom of) the fool. The victim must act foolishly to meet the wisdom of the fool, while in the altered text "foolishly" describes something objectionable and foreign to the poet's thought. Nothing is gained by making an interpolation. Bearing in mind "durior lectio preferenda est," if the original text will fully serve our purpose it would appear inadvisable to make any change.

E. M. D.

"Twelfth Night," I. v. 219-20.—

Tell me your mind: I am a messenger.

The page of text notes in the New Variorum shows the wide range of discussion on the speech of Viola, from which this line is taken. Some commentators have suspected corruption or omission, while others have urged a distribution of the speech other than as shown in the folio. Surely there can be no question as to Viola's meaning when one considers the scene in its entirety. She is the bearer of a message and, in spite of any interference, tries to perform her office. The sarcastic suggestion which Viola makes as a means of quieting Olivia's waiting-woman, "Some mollification for your Giant, sweete Ladie;" is sufficient to dispose of all opposition. After Maria's interruption, Viola again returns to the attack. "I am a messenger," that is, "I have a message to deliver," fully explains her words, "Tell me your mind." The passage means: "Tell me your mind as to your willingness or unwillingness to hear my message." Olivia's reply is proof, if any be needed, that this is the right explanation:

"Sure, you have some hideous matter to deliver, when the courtesy of it is so fearful. Speak your office." Olivia tells her mind, that is, expresses her willingness to hear what Viola has to say.

The utterance "Tell me your mind" could not possibly refer to Olivia's decision as affected by the message, for the reason that the message had not been delivered. Olivia was trying to make a point and secure permission to utter the sentiments entrusted to her by the Duke.

E. M. D.

"Twelfth Night," I. v. 251-3.—

but we will draw the curtain and show
you the picture. Look you, sir, such a one I was
this present: is't not well done? (*Unveiling*)

Rightly to understand the words "such a one I was this present" I think we have only to construe them as the usual formula for exhibiting one's own portrait. If in later years Olivia were to draw the curtain and show her portrait when a young woman, we should expect her to say, "Such a one I was in my youth." Now playfully using this form of expression, she says, "Such a one I was—this present."

E. M. D.

"Othello," II. i. 60-65.—

Mon. But, good lieutenant, is your general wived?
Cas. Most fortunately: he hath achieved a maid
That paragons description and wild fame;
One that excels the quirks of blazoning pens,
And in the essential vesture of creation
Does tire the ingener.

It is continually the experience of any one reading the commentaries, to find certain parts of a passage explained without regard to the bearing of the remaining portions upon the general interpretation. One should suppose that illogical and impossible theories would be explained in the course of time, but we find them soberly and dully repeated as the mental pabulum for those who go to the new editions. The existing comment on the passage given above may be taken, as a case in point, where a really simple thought has been twisted into a tame and unreasonable utterance.

In the usual explanation, the line, "In the essential vesture of creation," is separated from the one following, "Does tire the ingener." By so doing the dependence of the prepositional phrase "In the essential vesture of creation" upon the verb "tire" is lost sight of. We are not told in the text that the ingener becomes tired in the description of Desdemona's essential vesture of creation, and such an explanation is taking an unwarrantable liberty with the text. The ingener is tired in the essential vesture of creation for something that he does, and it remains for us to find out what that act is. In threading the maze of critical comment on this passage, one comes across many hints that assist in arriving at what seems to be the true meaning, and at the same time the simplest interpretation of the last two lines. Warburton: "It is plain that something very hyperbolical was here intended." To Johnson "essential" means *existant, real.* Steevens: "I believe the word 'tire' was not introduced to signify *to fatigue,* but to attire, *to dress.*" Several have shown that "Ingeniuer," "Ingeniver," or "ingener" means *contriver by ingenuity, maker, inventor* (of praises). Since the perfections of Desdemona are not compassed by any existing forms of description—

A maid
That paragons description and wild fame;
One that excels the quirks of blazoning pens—

she imposes upon the author of adequate praises the task of actual creation—does tire (clothe) the ingener (inventor) in the essential (real) vesture of the creation.

E. M. D.

"Love's Labour's Lost," V. i. 50-51.—

> "What is ab speld backward with the horn on his head?
> *Peda. Ba, puericia* with the horne added."

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a horn shaped mark known as the C cursive or C reversé was used in both manuscripts and printing to indicate the syllable "con" at the beginning of a word. See Savage's Dictionary of Printing and Lexicon Abbreviaturarum.

Ab therefore, with the horn on his head is ɔab, read backward, as Holifernes almost unnecessarily explains, it is Baɔ and Baɔ—Bacon. Whether the word Bacon here refers to the article of food so called, or to the great English philosopher of that name, it seems equally foreign to the context, and I shall be glad to hear a plausible explanation of its introduction.

A few lines farther down, 71-73, Moth says, "Lend me your Horne to make one, and I will whip about your Infamie *unum cita* a gigge of a Cuckold's horne." In modern editions the Latin words in this passage are corrupted to *circum circa,* but both Q. and F. read *unum cita,* "name the individual." Does this apply to the "Bacon" just above? Moreover, if the play appeared as the offspring of other than its real father, would not the various enigmatical allusions in the scene, including the horn shaped mark of abbreviation on the head of ab, all suggesting the idea of doubtful paternity, be accounted for?

I. H. P.

"Hamlet," I. iv. 36-38.—

> the dram of eale
> Doth all the noble substance of a doubt
> To his own scandal.

On the theory of idem sonans it strikes me that the passage might be read:

> the dram of evil
> Doth all the noble substance oft throw out,
> To his own scandal.

It seems to me this reading might be defended simply as a conjectural one in many ways. It makes sense if we assume that the personal pronoun "his" might be read in modern language as the word *it*, referring to the character of the abstract "man" of whom Hamlet is speaking. The conjecture does not appear to have been offered by anyone else. Under this reading the sentence would still mean: "the most infinitesimal infection of evil neutralizes all the noble substance of the character, to that character's own detriment."

S. A. Boyle.

Philadelphia.

MARGINALIA

DISCOVERY OF THE LOST FIRST QUARTO OF THE TITUS ANDRONICUS. In Gerald Langbaine's "An Account of the English Dramatick Poets" which was published at Oxford in 1691, occurred the first extended and critical estimate of Shakespeare as a Dramatic Poet. In its catalogue of Shakespeare's works given there is mentioned "a Quarto Edition of Titus Andronicus his Lamentable Tragedy, printed 4to, Lond., 1594, and acted by the Earls of Derby, Pembroke and Essex their Seruants." ("Essex" of course being Langbaine's own error for "Sussex"). Langbaine's statement corroborated the Stationer's Entries, which—under date of 1593-4, contain the record: "vj Die Februarij John Danter Enterd for his copye vnder thandes of bothe the Wardens a booke intituled a Noble Roman Historye of Tytus Andronycus." But these up to yesterday have been the only records of a 1594 Titus Andronicus. All that could be found was the one of 1600, represented to-day by the two copies in the Bridgewater collection and the library of the University of Edinburgh. The edition of 1611, three copies of which were described by Greg in 1899. The Daniel copy, now in the Alfred H. Huth collection, England, which brought £31 10s. in 1864; the Perkins copy, for which Mr. William A. White, of Brooklyn, paid £35 in 1889, and a fine large copy, with several uncut leaves, became a part of another American collection in 1901, at the "record" price of £620.

The edition parallelled in the Bankside was one of the copies preserved in the Bridgewater Collection and the Title Page ran "The most lamenta | ble Romaine Trapedie of *Titus Andronicus* | As it hath foundry tines beene playde by the | Righte Honourable the Earle of Pembrooke, the Earle of Darbie, the Earle of Sussex, and the | Lord Chamberlaine theyre | Seruants. | At London | Printed by I. R. fsr Edward White | and are to be folde at his | shoppe, at the little | North doore of Paules at the | figne of | the Gun. 1600."

But, in January last, the Shakespearean world was startled by the announcement that a Swedish gentleman living at Lund, in Sweden, happening to see mention of the large price brought by the old Prayer book lately sold at Sotheby's on account of the autographs of Shakespeare contained in it, bethought him of a small shabby book in a collection of books left him by his father, which he had always regarded as absolutely worthless, but which

upon investigation he found could be traced back with certainty for a little more than a hundred years, the earliest known owner being Charles Robson, an accountant in Stockholm (b. 1735, d. 1794). The family probably came to Sweden from Scotland with his great-grandfather, Christian Robson or Robsahm (born about 1615), and possibly this book had been owned by that family. He took the old book to the Librarian of the University of Lund and learned that he possessed a copy of this very missing Quarto of Titus Andronicus of 1594. It sold to Sotheran & Co. for £2,000, and is now in the United States. It is almost perfect, the only defect being on leaf B2, where the bottom corner has been torn away, with the result that the letter *s* and half of *u* in the catchword Marcus, p. B2r., and several letters, p. B2v. (viz., *Pa* in "Patricians," *Lor* in "Lord," and *An* in "And"), are wanting. A peculiarity is that the first signature has only three leaves, viz., the title-page, A3, and (not signed) A4; but as the title page and leaf A3 are united, A4 being single, the missing leaf, if one is missing, probably was a blank leaf before the title-page, and cannot easily have been a leaf A2, containing a lost prologue or dedication, or an "address to the gentlemen readers." The text is substantially the same as that of the quarto 1600. In the latter some misprints have been corrected and some new ones added. Now and then, but rarely, one word has been exchanged for another (*e. g.*, V. ii. 7, 1594, "humors;" 1600, "fits").

Collation of this newly found edition of 1594, with the familiar edition of 1600, show very few variants either of orthography or of punctuation upon neither of which features do students ever look for exactitude even in editions of identical date and imprints; as books were not infrequently printed page by page and corrected or added to while passing through the small hand presses then used. The only essential difference in the two editions is shown in the following parallization of the ending of the last act of the play:

Newly Discovered Quarto of 1594.	Quarto of 1600.
[Act V., Scene iii., Line 191.]	["Bankside" Line, 2548.]
Lu. Some louing friends canuay the Emperour hence,	*Lucius.* Some louing friends conuay the Emperour hence,
And giue him buriall in his fathers graue,	And giue him buriall in his Fathers graue,
My Father and *Lauinia* shall forthwith,	My Father and *Lauinia* fhall forthwith

Be closed in our households monument,
As for that rauinous tiger *Tamora,*
No funerall right, nor man in mourning weede,
No mournefull[t] bell shall ring her buriall
But throw her forth to beasts and birds to pray,
Her life was beastlie and deuoide of pittie,
And being dead let birds on her take pittie.

Exeunt.

Finis the Tragedie of Titus Andronicus.

Be closed in our households monument:
As for that hainous Tiger *Tamora,*
No funerall right, nor man in mourning weeds,
No mournfull bell fhall ring her buriall.
But throw her forth to beasts and birds to pray,
Her life was beastly and deuoide of pitty,
And being fo, fhall have like want of pitty,
See iustice done on *Aron* that damn'd Moore,
By whom our heauie haps had their beginning:
Than afterwards to order well the ftate,
That like euents may nere it ruinate.

To The Editors of New Shakespeareana. SIRS: The copy of the letter of instruction from Augustus, Duke of Brunswick, to his engravers, giving directions how to get up the title-page to the Gustavus Selenus work on Cryptograms given by Dr. Platt on page 4 of Volume III of NEW SHAKESPEAREANA is correct. But Dr. Platt's interpretation of it is impossible:

In the autumn of 1896 I visited Wolfenbüttel, Germany, for the purpose of procuring, if possible, an authoritative interpretation of this famous frontispiece. The name, Gustavus Selenus, is a pseudonym; Augustus II., Duke of Brunswick-Lüneberg, one of the most distinguished and learned men of his time, was the author of the book. His official residence was Wolfenbüttel, where he founded the great library that still gives repute to the place, an honourable monument to his services in the cause of letters. Lessing was its librarian in 1770-81. The Duke's correspondence, filling many volumes, is preserved in this library; it was unreservedly submitted to my inspection. There I found in the Duke's handwriting minute directions to the engravers how to execute the frontispiece, what portraits to draw in it, and generally how to illustrate and enforce the author's design. These directions, covering several pages of manuscript, were reproduced for me in photographic fac

simile by an artist of the town under the supervision of an intelligent official of the library. A complete set of the photographs, together with the plates on which they were printed, I brought home with me and deposited in the Boston (Mass.) Public Library, where they now are, and where for seven years past they have been accessible to all.

The engravers did their work in exact accordance with their instructions. The man sitting at the table writing is Johannes Trithemius; the one standing behind him lifting the mitre is the Duke of Brunswick-Lúneberg himself. I saw other portraits of them both; the likenesses are perfect. The man (once with a spear), now on foot and now on horseback, is a postman dressed and armed according to the custom of the period. The bird is a carrier-pigeon, which an enemy is trying to intercept. The boatload of men at the top of the page is a party escaping with messages from a beleaguered town at night. The whole represents the postal system of those days, or how letters, written in cipher according to rules laid down in the body of the work, were carried to their destination. 1. The library contains no copy of any of the Shakespearian folios, and none of any quarto edition, except the *Hamlet* of 1637, the later published long after Bacon's death. And it contains little of consequence of Bacon's known writings. 2. The Duke was a relative of Queen Anne, consort of James I. of England. He was present at the coronation ceremonies at Westminster. I read the carefully written itinerary of this visit; Francis Bacon, Gray's Inn, Gorhambury are not mentioned in it. 3. I read also the Duke's private and familiar letters, written to various correspondents in the interval between 1615 and 1630 or thereabouts, without finding a reference to Bacon or to Bacon's works in any one of them. Bacon died in 1626.

EDWIN REED.

BOSTON, NOVEMBER 15, 1904.

IN A MUNIMENT ROOM OF WESTMINSTER ABBEY THERE WAS LATELY discovered by Edward J. I. Scott, Litt. S., a document mentioning by name the Thomas Nashe, who married Elizabeth Hall, Shakespeare's granddaughter, and thereby acquired the tithes of Shottery, the hamlet where Agnes Hathaway, her grandmother, lived before her marriage to Shakespeare. This document, undated, but which can be identified as of between the years 1642-1660 is as follows:

THE SCHOLLERS PETICION FOR ALLOWANCE FOR BOOKES.—

To the honorable the Committee of Parliament for the Colledge of West-

minister. The humble Peticion of divers the late Schollars of that Schoole; Humblie shewing That you being pleased to approve of their learning and soe haue sent them to y^e^ Vniuersities for their further proceed: But they haue not had for 2 or 3 yeeres past that allowance at their going hence which was given to others at their election to buy them Bookes. And that (as they are informed) one Mr. Thomas Nashee is tenaunt of y^e^ Colledge for a fee farme rent of 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* per annum out of certaine tithes in Shottery in Warwickshire giuen for that spetiall vse. They humbly pray you that the said allowance may be paid vnto them as ever hath bin accustomed.

At the foot is the Committee's answer:—

The rent given by the Lord Burley [Burghley] for buying the Schollers bookes is issuing out of the Rectory of Finchstock and Fawler in the County of Oxford and payable by Tho Martyn W^m^ Hodges and John Preddy. Mr. Durrant the Messenger hath bin to Levy it, but cannot Leavy the same.

When will our English fellow-Shakespeareans begin to guess that their drafts upon American Shakespeariolatry when drawn in terms of £ s d may begin to be overworked? We have received a letter from a Miss Elspet Lee, Secretary, etc., etc., inviting us to request and summon all Readers of New Shakespeareana, and All Americans generally, to forward to her funds wherewith to erect in the City of London a Monument, viz—a Statue, etc., etc., to Shakespeare "in Shakespeare's own Town," etc., etc. Has it became a precedent that the initial step toward arranging for a memorial to Shakespeare in England is to apply to Americans for cash, on the ground of their "love for the Immortal Bard?" If so, we are constrained in this particular case to break away from the more or less sacred precedent and to decline Miss Elspet's invitation. There are, we believe, numerous statues of Shakespeare in American and German cities to the cost of which other nations were not approached to contribute through the ruse of their "world-wide love for," etc., etc., or otherwise. Besides, when we come to think of it—London town is so to speak, in easy circumstances financially, and can well afford to pay for its own statues. And, after all has been said, Shakespeare is really as much an English poet as he is an American poet, (for before that wicked Revolution we were all one, don't you know!) and why should Americans come down with the cash to pay for Englishmen's, as well as for their own, "love of Shakespeare?" Apropos, we may as well mention here that our Stratford-on-Avon correspondent informs us that the not-over courteous (not to say, insolent) summons to Americans to pay up a balance still due for the "Amer-

ican window" in Trinity Church, still hangs in the vestibule of that venerable edifice! Our readers will recall, that, when the matter came up some seasons ago, we stated that American visitors in Stratford-on-Avon need not contribute to wipe out that balance unless they saw fit—that there was no National nor patriotic reason for their doing so, that said window was ordered by the authorities of Trinity Parish, and christened "American" in order to strenuously, and after the usual Parochial manner, suggest that Americans pay for it! We may add, that, since we made this announcement, we have taken steps to verify it, by personal application to the designers and makers of that window and have learned at first hand that no citizen of the United States ever ordered, contracted for, expressed a preference for, or undertook to pay for that window—and that the whole claim was one of those "fakes" with which we regret to say, the town of Shakespeare's birth has been too often connected!

[All April Book Matter, Acknowledgments, Reviews, etc., lie over as usual until the July issue.]

***The Editors cannot undertake to return unused manuscript, though they will endeavor to do so if self-directed, stamped envelope is enclosed therewith.

All manuscripts submitted *must be type-written.*

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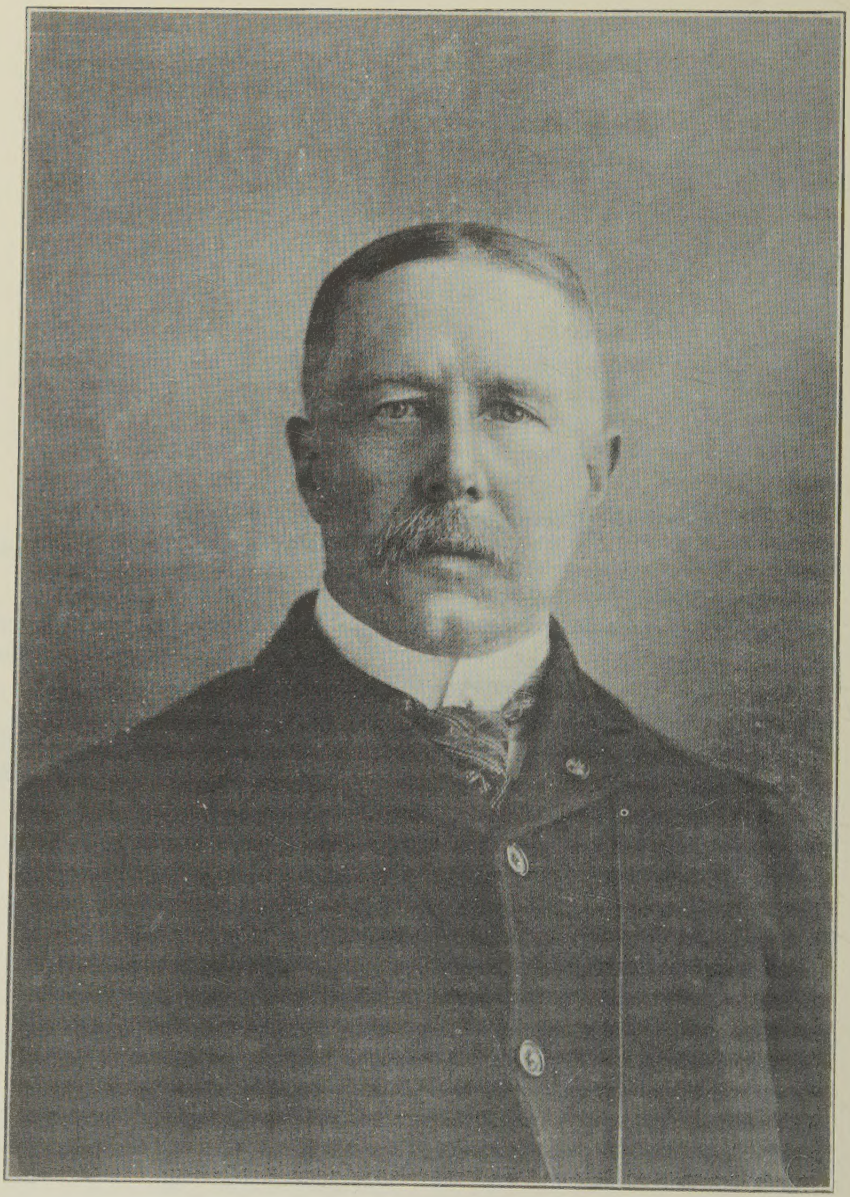

DR. APPLETON MORGAN
April 23rd, 1905